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A COMPARISON OF PHYSICAL
EDUCATION IN GERMANY AND AMERICA
FROM THE YEARS 1860-1930

by

Delores Jean Wertz

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the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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A comparison was made of the development of the physical education movement in Germany and America from 1860 to 1930. This writer believes that American physical education and German Leibeserziehung are reflections of the political and social attitudes of these two countries.

A study was made of the political situation of both countries during this era. The rich cultural heritage and the uneducated political attitude of the Germans were strikingly different from the democracy of the common man in America and the American individualism which were creating a new culture.

Socially the current in Germany flowed with the authoritative leaders and was mirrored in the literature. The literature included the extremes of the spirit of the humanity of Goethe to the Germanity of Jahn. It included the resignation of fairy tale heroes to what must be, and inspiring thoughts of miraculous things coming to those who resign themselves properly to authority. The American current was as independent and individualistic as the political nature of the country. The literature was created from the American spirit of the pioneers and the men of history. Distinct lack of rank was evident in the schools.

The solid foundation of the turnen of Jahn was evident in the Leibeserziehung of Germany. It had varied from an activity outside the school, to a school activity and then to a military activity. Eventually sports and games became a popular movement. So strong was this movement that even the Turner groups included sports. Clubs were organized from the local to the national level. Rhythmic gymnastics, which included dance, also made an appearance. The cohesiveness of the German organizations was prime

targets for political propaganda. Leibeserziehung began to serve the state. Following World War I the sports movement was renewed and again became a tool for political propaganda. The Germans had not yet been educated to the inherent qualities of a democracy, politically, socially or even in their sports and games.

America's foundation was based on frontier individualism that followed systems or individuals. Eclectic America had the foreign systems, the YMCAs, camping, dance, playgrounds, and the country's own games, such as baseball and basketball. Professionally the foreign gymnastics flourished for a time. They yielded to the more social sports and games which reflected the nature of Americans. Huge organizations were not formed for participants but large numbers of Americans became sport fans.

This writer believes that the broad American concept of physical education within education is a point which could be of benefit to the Germans. This writer also believes America could gain from the pattern of the continuous bodily activity inherent in the German Leibeserziehung, and its more literal translation of "education of the body". Both countries have similar activities but different cultural backgrounds. They can share with each other and enjoy what they have in common. They can respect and allow to stand that which is rooted in their own divergent backgrounds.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Today, in 1963, one could fly from the east coast of the United States to Frankfurt, Germany, in a little over twelve hours. It was sixty years previous that the Wright brothers made the first really successful airplane flight. (18:557) In May of 1927, thirty-six years ago, Charles Lindbergh flew the first continuous transatlantic flight in a little over thirty-three hours. (18:557) It has been said that history is the unrolled scroll of prophecy. Consider what the Wright brothers prophesied. With such a contrast, it is easy to see what strides have been made in the mechanics of aviation. It is just as easy to overlook some simple facts that aided this rapid progress. The recording of this historical fact was one such fact and cannot be overestimated. Then, the ability to communicate and disseminate, so as to learn and to build on the historical fact and to share it with other minds, eventually stimulated the rapid progress of aviation.

The same type of story is told in medicine where mankind has seen surgery move from the first initiation of antiseptics by Lister in 1865 to such amazing surgical feats as Dr. Irving S. Cooper's curing of Parkinson's disease with the use of liquid nitrogen cooled to -196° C. in a tube ". . . only 2 mm. (less than $1/12$ in.) in diameter. . ." in less than five minutes. (65:29) In this span of almost one hundred years mankind has taken great strides because of the recording and communication of factual information. Sometimes it was slow and it took time to be

accepted. Such was the case of Fleming's observation of penicillin that remained merely noted fact for ten years until it was "rediscovered" and adopted by the medical profession. (45:14)

In many areas of education man has the historical fact but perhaps has not used it enough to learn, to build, and to communicate and to share. This may be true in educational events because they come slowly and do not electrify and fire imagination as Lindbergh did. What progress will be made now, linguistically and in dissemination of knowledge, since man can communicate with Europe and share phenomena with the marvelous use of the pioneering Telstar is a prophecy. (73:15) It may be an additional impetus for education's rapid progress.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century two countries were perhaps advancing in physical education on parallel tracks for a short distance. In comparison to the rate man may now set, the advancement of this period may be classified as slow and may have to be "rediscovered". Both countries were recording their history, a simple procedure of making fact available. But, the next step of communication may have been lacking or was slow to be accepted. It may be that the background of political and social elements of the two countries is so widespread in their influence over physical education, that a common track, philosophically, is too divergent to consider.

In the Germany of the latter part of the 1800's beginning with Adolf Spiess, a new response came to physical education in the school. Women and girls were included in the program. There were men in the medical profession, such as Dr. Moritz Kloss and Dr. M. D. Richter, in Germany, who spoke of the importance of play in the school curriculum. (14:vi) At the same time in America, Dr. Edward Hitchcock, Dr. William

G. Anderson and Dr. Delphine Hanna were instrumental in teaching and in founding a professional organization. (34:399) Some communication was very active as one views the "battle of the systems". (36:24) Other parallel movements were taking place as each country eventually moved from calisthenics and gymnastics type movements to other activity forms. They were moving together and yet apart as the traditions and discontents involved in the political, social, and educational philosophies of each country influenced physical education. The interests and beliefs of the personalities concerned helped to shape these philosophies. A better understanding of the heritage of physical education by a study of these personalities and philosophies may unroll the scroll of prophecy, a forecast for today. It may help physical educators to gain insight into the situation since 1930 and at the present time. History does concern mankind. "To wonder is merely a beginning and to find the answer is research." And if history helps find the answer for the "whys" of today, perhaps it will enable man to record a grand prophecy for tomorrow.

CHAPTER II

PURPOSE

It is the purpose of this study to make a comparison of the development of the physical education movement in Germany and America from about 1860 to 1930. This study may show how closely the two countries parallel and the influence they had in shaping the growth of the physical education profession. Such influences may be traced through a view of the political, social, and educational atmosphere and of the traditions, and the beliefs and discontent in the field of physical education in both countries. The political atmosphere can change rapidly and as a result, may accelerate change and growth. The social changes, such as the acceptance of women's changing status, come far more slowly. Education often moves only when prodded by some change in the political or social atmosphere or by the initiative of personalities " . . . ahead of their time and who translate their vision into action". (36:118) For these reasons, it seems reasonable to follow a pattern that gives a general idea of the background area of the two countries in order to understand the changes in specific areas.

CHAPTER III

A BACKGROUND SKETCH

THE GERMAN SETTING

Many historians are fond of saying, "men make history" and unfortunately they stop there forgetting the next step of looking to consider the results. The Germany of the 1860's was a nation that had produced great men: musicians, poets and philosophers. The culture resulted from being bound in a loose federation and avoiding a capital that some say causes an "unhealthy concentration of culture in one center that remains the bane of other countries". (20:26) At this time, its cities and its men were famous; not the nation. The art center of Weimar, home of Goethe and Schiller, Vienna, the home of Strauss and his famous waltzes, the universities of Heidelberg and Bonn, the music of Beethoven and Mozart, the art of Dürer, and the publishing industry of Mainz and Frankfurt, are examples of this.

The other side of this cultural atmosphere was social change. Rapid industrialization was causing a flight from the rural area. The population of the cities soared further as peasants were disinherited from their land. In 1850 the country produced 208,000 tons of iron and by 1860 this had jumped to 1,391,000 tons. (35:157) The population had jumped from forty million in 1870 to fifty million in 1890. (35:200) Trade unions, co-operatives and social insurance laws came into being. This social growth would leave the musicians and philosophers and develop

the Germany of the Hamburg-American Shipping Line, the Zeiss optical works, women's emergence and a great colonial and military power with industry and commerce encircling the globe. In all these developments men had been the prime movers but, as social change included the women and the masses, the people also changed.

Germany had the educational heritage of Erasmus and a linguistic standard set by Luther's translation of the Bible. An extremely sharp separation of classes and the importance of gradation of rank and title had been evidenced. This had been particularly shown in the school. The two track system of apprenticeships and advancement to the high school university level was based on class position which was determined by the rank of the father. The peasants and farmers outside the cities were rarely included in any educational scheme.

High in society's rank, and among the most respected, was the professor. A most precious social gem to the German mind was his academic freedom. Haeckel, the prophet of Darwinism, and Meinecke, the historian of ideas, spoke freely and what may have been termed radically, protected by the strength of this academic freedom. No idea or interpretation by Meinecke endangered his academic chair, and he was in fact reappointed to his chair over fifty times. (16:24)

The heritage of the German women's movement was vested in education. Women wanted first the right to education, the right to work and then to have legal rights. Generally refused admittance at the higher school levels and the universities, the women persisted and a few gradually began to become known in the arts and letters. Women began to take part in pedagogy and nursing and began, with women in England and America, to

demand their rights. Suppressing in part the fight for the duration of the war, they began again to become involved with legislation and the reforms in the teacher training programs. (20:45)

For all its emphasis on education, the German intellect and the German political character seemed to have had little intercommunication and one was said, ". . . to suffer no limitations: the other submits to every yoke . . .". (20:109) The German soul or spirit seemed to have been soaring in the arts while the German's discipline subjected itself to all subservience. "In the western concept man sins by the abuse of power; in the German Lutheran concept man sins by revolting against power." (16:29) Ernst Troeltsch stated that, "We Germans have no gift for democracy or for politics, and we have been badly prepared for them by our history". (16:29) Thomas Mann commented that Germans were not, in the true sense, a political nation, and that this was an unfortunate limitation of German character. (10:68)

Bismarck may have united Prussia and the other German states into one empire but not all were bound to Bismarck. Germany was not really any more unified than the reformists of the reformation. What Luther might have accomplished with political instinct! What Bismarck might have accomplished had his shrewdness and his Prussian spirit been tempered and then supported by those in the universities! (10:71)

Bismarck instituted social insurance laws that the Germans retained at great sacrifices even during the deep depression. The Iron Chancellor made the city administrations a model of civic efficiency and integrity. He maintained the universal military service (common in Europe since the French Revolution) to guarantee a bodily vigor of the broad masses and a sense of public duty. (10:4) In his time, however, the men of the

"nobility" were still nominated to administrative and military posts. The sociologist Max Weber said of Bismarck that he left behind him a nation "without any political education or political will power". He rejected the Frankfurt constitution and stated that the "... whole life of a constitution is nothing but a series of compromises". (35:155) In this frame of character the Germans submitted more and more to political or administrative standards. Led into another sanguinary struggle, Germany wound up occupied by Allied troops, industrially in a depression and unable to cope with tariff barriers and reparation payments. The masses of unemployed workers were used for public improvement and to regain a position in the industrial and educational fields. In the latter field, in the dormant women's movement, and in the youth movement, there was evidenced a real hunger for knowledge which kept the doors of the schools open despite the sacrifices of the times. Parents took up the cry: "Economize in all things; only not in the schools." (Ueberall sparen, nur nicht an der Schule). (40:61) This was the setting on one side of the ocean.

THE AMERICAN SETTING

The America of the 1860's was a dual country of state builders relying on cooperation and the strong individualism of the frontier for growth. The young country had been lacking men of arts and letters but it had the fresh heritage of Franklin and Washington and the philosophies of Jefferson and Hamilton that were to permeate the attitude of the country. The Jeffersonian principle of freedom and democracy "with education" was being tested in a civil war involving equality and the consent of those governed. Hamiltonian economics was to take another form in the industrialization which hit the country's open frontiers.

The social atmosphere was developing the American characteristic of sympathy for the "underdog" and a sharp sectionalism of social and economic life. The unrest in Europe and the abortive revolution in Germany brought many immigrants to swell the numbers settling and farming the great frontier. The melting pot was born. Industrialization was sending huge numbers to the cities in the north. The workers were exploited while a few were building vast fortunes. Unions and legislatures fought a contest not of capitalists against socialists or communists but as the two poles of capitalism; employers versus the workers. The frontier was growing so rapidly that, shortly after the civil war, Omaha matched a population of 25,000 to what the entire territory of Nebraska had in 1860. (1:288) The frontier represented the spirit of individualism which gave to women freedom they had never had before and helped to lead the way for women's rights. The same individualism that was giving women freedom and protection began to delve in lawlessness and some vigilante justice.

Educationally no great heritage of famous educators or universities existed and objectives and values seemed to be very few. The war and the frontier caused a neglect of education. Even by 1873 the United States had only 23,000 college students. (1:296) The tax-supported school was to make the schools of America another frontier by the equality they offered. The extent of public education would be a unique contribution to history. As individual states, cities and philanthropists began making efforts to upgrade education, women began to have a serious impact on teacher training.

Women in America have had a great deal of influence in education and religion. This was the era when, aided by the typewriter, the

telephone, and the vote, woman exerted and strengthened her influences to such a degree that she became a dominant mechanism on the American mind. (4:46)

Politically the United States moved from a devastating civil war to reconstruction and ". . . the most shameful decade in our entire national history". (1:276) The social lawlessness had earlier permeated even Congress with the ugliness of Brooks beating Sumner on the Senate floor. While corruptness, consolidations and trusts grew, unemployment kept pace. The government reflected the developments in the scandals of the Grant regime, the revolt of the Populists speaking through the voice of William Jennings Bryan, and in Roosevelt as the trust buster. Politically the country enveloped the continent from coast to coast, became involved in world affairs and emerged as a world power. With great prosperity pushing change, the government became embroiled in strikes, unions, prohibition, and woman's suffrage. The tariff barriers went up and kept reparations from being paid by the country that needed free trade to survive. The accumulation of economic policies plunged the United States into the world depression. From this the New Deal emerged and another era began. This was the American setting.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

THE GERMAN SCENE

Father Jahn and Goethe are examples of a heritage in thought, both of whom had an effect, in their own way, during the time of Bismarck and William I. While Goethe was a proponent of humanity and warned of the dangers of too much nationalism, Father Jahn was a proponent of "Germanity" and the heights to which he believed it would carry mankind.

Turnvater Jahn wrote Die deutsche Turnkunst (German Gymnastics) but he also wrote Die deutsche Volkstum (German Nationality) which emphasized blind worship of the state and a belief in the virtues of militarism. He believed the state must be established by the force of the folk (Volk). For a unified Germany, however, the people (Volk) did not truly have the morale or the patriotism. Father Jahn believed he would revive morale by improving their physical condition and their patriotism through the virtues of militarism. The state would see to it that every home could be used for the quartering of troops. The troops, therefore, would be a part of the folk life and in exchange would give the folk life patriotism. Thus the state would be on a firm foundation. Father Jahn further believed education should place an emphasis on what was national: the language, the people, the legends, the literature, and the soil. (31:138) Characteristic of the famous

German legends and literature are the fairy tales and the fables that delight in the shrewdness displayed by their heroes.

Bismarck, who had Jahn's "Germanity", was appointed by William I to get funds for the Army. When the Landtag refused, he acted as the state and operated without the approval of the funds on the assumption that "necessity alone is authoritative". He pushed his own people and Austria into the Seven Weeks' War over the problems of self determination of the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein. He wanted to strengthen Prussia rather than allow the population of the duchies to determine their own political status. As a result, unification began and he was claimed as a diplomat, after the victory, for having ended the Hapsburg and Austrian domination in German affairs. (31:206) Jahn termed Prussia ". . . the stem of the German plant . . .". (31:137) Bismarck made it so when the dominant Prussian princes and junkers accepted the North German Confederation. To unite the remaining German states he had to goad the French to action. When he deleted portions of a French telegram to the Kaiser, he was acclaimed for his shrewdness and cleverness. This incident flamed into the Franco-Prussian War.

Following the French capitulation in 1871, while the United States was almost ready to celebrate its centurial year, the Second German Reich was born. It was unification but the reigning princes were not eliminated. The Prussian influence was still the dominant example. Decrees in that state had first extended gymnastics in the program of the elementary schools to the universities and then included it even in the secondary schools. In response to the Prussian example, this and other forms of educational instruction were followed in many of the twenty-five states of the Reich.

Bismarck then began his Kulturkampf (struggle for civilization) in which he attacked Catholicism's controls in the so-called May laws, which gave the state more control over education and marriage. His greater fear of the Socialist movement caused him to drop his Kulturkampf in exchange for clerical support against the new danger. Against the Socialists he enacted the "Exceptional Laws". They were designed to protect the established class order and designated as disruptive to the "peace", among other things, some fraternities, public festivals, and parades. (31:235)

The pressures of world trade and colonization now called for a change by Bismarck. A new tariff schedule in the economic policy and industrial development made Germany a world power. For a reconciliation with the working class, the Imperial Insurance Office, The Sickness Insurance Law, the Accident Law and the Old Age and Invalidity Law were established. This important series of laws was later unified in a social insurance code ". . . which set a standard for the world in the amelioration of the lot of the workingman". (31:244)

The arrogant, militant, and rash young William II now took the throne. Fearful of Bismarck, he got rid of him. (25:3) Believing he ruled, by divine right, a superior race with a mission in civilization, he wanted to modernize and nationalize the entire system of teaching. To the Kaiser, as to Jahn, language, folklore and physical training were important, and this teaching was to be altogether nationalistic. He wanted the German language as the foundation of the Gymnasias to educate "young Germans, not young Greeks and Romans". (31:270) The new monarch was having many difficulties with the rising Social Democrats. Part of their demands called for education for universal training and, like

Father Jahn, a people's army instead of a standing army. They wanted secularization of the schools, compulsory attendance and abolition of laws discriminating against women. He feared all of their program because he feared change of the established order. In an attempt to "kill with kindness", William II issued two imperial rescripts. One gave workers equality before the law, and the other called for an International Conference for the Protection of the Workers. With their foot in the door they tried now for additional demands, and the Kaiser in turn tried for a Subversion Bill to protect the established order.

(31:274)

The Kaiser had a great pride in the Army and in education. As Jahn, he believed in the school's function as that of teaching the German culture: nationalism. However, the people's army, in which Jahn and the Social Democrats believed, was a horrible thought to him. He believed such an army could not be in the proper condition nor have the proper patriotism to serve the Imperial Kaiser. He thought real education was obtained by serving in the Nation's Army! His "new course" of modernizing and nationalizing called for a navy also. With the support of Germany's new industrial program, the navy soon became second only to that of England. (18:692)

At the end of the Franco-Prussian War, Germany put such high indemnities on France that it was generally thought the country would be years recovering. Field Marshall Moltke (his nephew would later be chief of the General Staff), in considering the rise of Russia and the revenge France would seek, feared that some day a two-front war might have to be fought. The Rothschild banking firm, in aiding the French recovery, made France a formidable enemy much faster than the Germans

expected. (22:165) Coupled with the Russian reputation of strength, despite their losses in the Russo-Japanese War, the two-front war became a distinct possibility. The Count Alfred von Schlieffen, considering the elder Moltke's fear, formulated his famous plan, which the younger Moltke used in modified form in 1914. (18:913) The plan called for military strategy only. (29:78) It disregarded neutrality and political consequences. Strategy decreed the weight of German forces to be thrown at the strongest foe (France) to envelope the enemy in a minimum amount of time, while a smaller force held the eastern front. To use the envelopment movement against France necessitated room to maneuver and thereby the violation of the neutrality of Belgium. (32:35) It was a "military necessity". (29:79) The right wing, in its sweep across Belgium in the outflanking maneuver, was to extend so far, that Schlieffen said, "When you march into France, let the last man on the right brush the Channel with his sleeve". (32:41) To leave the left wing weak (which defended the heart of Prussia) and to use reservists in order to put sufficient numbers in the right wing, held a great fear for the Kaiser. The strength held back from the right wing and other shifts by Moltke in 1914 were heralded as the reasons for the failure of this plan on the Marne.

Part of the Schlieffen plan depended upon Nationalism and the dread of anything not Germanic. The need to consider politics and what such a course would mean were subjugated to the belief that what had been started must be continued. It led further to the Belgian terrors and the burning of the Louvain library. In the famous exchange of "open letters" between Germany's Hauptmann and France's Rolland there was an

expression of the extent to which Nationalism had gone. Rolland thought of the Goethe who had said,

. . . national hatred is a peculiar thing. You invariably find it to be strongest and most violent where there is the lowest degree of culture. But there exists a degree wherein it vanishes completely, and wherein a person, to some extent, stands above nations. . . . (31:171)

Rolland in his letter asked of Hauptmann, ". . . are you children of Goethe or of Attila?" (42:173) Hauptmann seemed to be caught up in the same kind of mass hysteria that found Germans chanting war hymns and parading down Unter den Linden to hear stirring speeches from the Kaiser when he in essence answered, ". . . war is war". (42:174)

When finally the Armistice came, the Social Democratic Party became the liquidators of the German Empire. Once the disintegration of the Spartacist movement of Communists occurred, support went to the new federal republic. More than thirty million men and women elected a National Constituent Assembly, which convened at Weimar, the home of Goethe, where perhaps it was hoped that his spirit would prevail.

The Weimar Constitution seemed to have the features of the British Bill of Rights, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the first Ten Amendments of the American Constitution. The attempt of the Weimar Constitution was grand. Among its articles, it held:

Article 109 . . . all Germans are equal before the law. Men and women have the same fundamental civil rights and duties. Public legal privileges or disadvantages of birth or of rank are abolished. Titles of nobility . . . may be bestowed no longer. . . .

Article 142 . . . Art, science, and the teaching thereof are free. . . .

Article 143 . . . The education of the young is to be provided for by means of public institutions. . . .

Article 144 . . . The entire school system is under the supervision of the state. . . .

Article 145 . . . Attendance at school is compulsory. . . .
(31:390, 391)

The Weimar Republic tried to live up to the "Carthaginian Peace" of the Treaty of Versailles. With the reparations, the tariffs of the Allies increasing against them and the decline of the middle class, from whom the bulk of support came, the Germans were being placed in a position that they would not be able to handle.

Following the lead of the new constitution, the schools made an attempt to add humanism to the traditional and strict nationalism, and they included sports and games to offset the military drill. A war guilt clause, however, had been imposed in a peace treaty for the first time in history. The injustice of its totality created an unhealthy attitude. Historians such as Treitschke were glorifying war and the war spirit infected again the institutions of higher and lower education.

THE AMERICAN SCENE

The versatile Jefferson and Hamilton exemplify the paradox of America. Jefferson's faith was in the common man, dependent upon the soil and not upon the capitalists. Hamilton represented the money and profits of special privileged and moneyed classes.

Lincoln, as he took office, was a symbol of the frontier spirit; hard working, self educated and of the common people and from the west where they were all "plain people". The east as a community, still greatly influenced by Europe, considered him uncultured. The rich and

wise did not trust his humility and feeling for the people. He felt his task was to keep the Union together, hopefully with sympathy and understanding, and if necessary by arms. At the same time he had to be aware of the west. His administration not only opened the land for the people with the Homestead Act but offered the states land with the passage of the Morrill Act. The Jeffersonian philosophy prevailed, with man going to the land to rise from the bottom to the top by the opportunities on the frontiers. Jeffersonian philosophy stressed the education of the common man to handle his environment. The land grant for colleges providing instruction in "agriculture and mechanical" knowledges strengthened this ideal. (78:26)

The numbers engaged in the battles of the Civil War were greater in proportion than in the conflicts of the Napoleonic wars. (1:261) A new type of warfare, as a result of "fire power", made the saber a showpiece. The training of the officers had been at West Point in the north, but the best officers were Southerners who supported the stand taken by their home states. The cry for military training to replace physical training was heard and in unmilitant America, militarism was instituted in many schools. The Morrill Act required military instruction and, following the war, Congress made it possible for military personnel to be detailed to the colleges. (78:29) After protest from students, many secondary schools later compromised by having either military drill or physical education.

The North was moving in a Hamiltonian fashion. Railroads were spanning the continent and industry was enlarging the cities. The abolitionists were decrying slavery while the industrial managers, wanting "cheap and manageable labor", were exploiting the worker. (1:309)

The country that was divided was to be rejoined, not with "Malice toward none, with charity for all . . . (binding) up the nation's wounds . . . (for) a just and lasting peace . . ." but, with the vengeance of the Reconstruction Act. The assassination of Lincoln and the overwhelming of Johnson by political assailants opened the way for corruption. The South having no large cities, land and railroads destroyed, livestock gone and no credit, was robbed further by the unscrupulous who now controlled politically. The North was not exempt as the "Tweed Ring" ruled and in the "land of opportunity" few seemed to care what corruption took place as long as some opportunity was still available. Now the immigrants, with no great wealth, were not going to the Mississippi Valley but were remaining in the cities for industrial work. Large numbers, coming as contract laborers and planning to return to their homelands, were not interested in citizenship or education. They were difficult to assimilate, kept intact their own communities, and kept a low standard of living in order to save money to return to the old country.

The industrial revolution was growing swiftly. Industry exploited workers, railroads exploited farmers, and as corporations, consolidations and trusts grew, so did unemployment. The United States was not emerging from feudalism but had the free and optimistic life of the frontiers. And the "frontier" was a succession of frontiers; cities flourished and died and flourished again. America, because of size and richness, offered opportunity to absorb ever expanding industry and theoretically a chance to rise from the bottom to the top. In the schools, children were taught that any boy could grow up to become President. Social class barriers were not impassible. The spirit grew of making everything the biggest, the

best or the most. America wanted this Hamiltonian structure, the Jeffersonian ideal of the equality of opportunity for the common man, and the protection of both by the government.

Corruption was becoming intolerable and the government was pressed to act. The protective tariff policy began with the McKinley Bill and the farmers organized into the Grange in retaliation. The people's voice was to be heard again in the "Populists revolt". Bryan was not a Jefferson or a Lincoln and he had little financial backing from the rich and wise. Nevertheless, he gave McKinley a fight and kept alive the American dream of the common man's opportunity to earn a living alongside of the moneyed and propertied interests.

The United States continued its support for the underdog and became involved in the Spanish American War. The Hearst newspapers were earning the term "yellow journalism" in their sensationalistic coverage of the war. (18:787) The tide of the financial interests was beginning to come back. The industrial managers, in exploiting immigrants and native workers, had created the slum conditions of the big cities. J. P. Morgan, who was considered to have made "honest gestures," set a pattern that others followed. Social welfare, playgrounds, recreation areas and other forms of philanthropy became noticeable. The names of men noted as ruthless in business were gaining notoriety for their largess.

In 1890 the Census Bureau declared the frontier had ended. Soon it became apparent that it had. The individualism of frontier democracy was yielding to cooperation for protection and benefits provided by an age of industry and science. Such protective measures as the Pure Food Act were passed. (18:789) The country began distinguishing a necessary cooperation of socialism against full government controlled Socialism. (1:354)

The United States was beginning to play an increasing role in international events. The "Boxer Rebellion" broke out in China against Shanghai's European settlements. Germany was given the ceremonial honor of the top command of the international expeditionary force dispatched to suppress it. (22:193) America maintained the philosophy of idealism and returned the \$11,000,000 reparations to the Chinese government. They in turn applied the money to scholarships for Chinese students to study in America. The top command had different instructions. The Kaiser in his military pride admonished his troops in fiery speech, ". . . to take no prisoners and to spare no lives so that no Chinese later would dare look askance at a German . . .". (17:287)

America continued the international role. Roosevelt gave the country a "black-eye" in Panama and the country later became involved in the Philippines. In contrast to his impatience in the canal building, Roosevelt displayed patience as a mediator in helping to conclude the Russo-Japanese War.

By now (1912) the country had ended its continental statemaking and a man named Wilson, in the style of Jefferson and Lincoln, made the ideal of democracy a practical one for Americans. The country had, in the Underwood Tariff, the lowest tariff since the Civil War and the graduated income tax came into being. (18:791) (1:363)

A ship called the Titanic, which was to be impossible to sink, had been built by the "new age." The "new age" produced a book by Norman Angell entitled, The Great Illusion, which "proved" that financial and economic interdependence of nations made war impossible. (32:24) But the Titanic sank and the Great War came.

The draft call followed the entrance of the United States into the war. The nation was appalled by the number of rejections credited to poor physical fitness. The war would give impetus again to compulsory military training.

Wilson had tried to bring to the nation a renewed vision of what America might and should be. But the war brought disillusionment to the United States and to Wilson. He tried to mediate a negotiated peace, a "peace without victory". (1:377) The nation's entry into the war was termed a disinterested act of humanitarianism for the "spoils" of the war had been denied before the battle. The country entered the war to bring about a "just and lasting peace". The political intrigues and secret negotiations, however, were too far ahead to allow such a peace. Wilson's Fourteen Points included the League of Nations and self-determination. Germany would not be allowed to determine her political future and America would never become a member of the League.

As a result of the war, a tremendous increase of industrial production and loans to the Allied Powers made the United States a world power. (18:1051) America was now a creditor instead of a debtor nation.

Following the Great War, the country again had its scandals, its reforms and national woman's suffrage. Prosperity was not to last and, although the bankers and the government may have seen the end coming, they urged the buying of stocks. Suddenly the Great Depression was upon the country. Now there was to be a New Deal in another new era. It was a time for big changes to begin.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL INCLINATIONS

THE CURRENT IN GERMANY

Education and literature have a great influence on any country. In contrast to Goethe, who said the time of world literature was approaching, Jahn expected the schools to teach only German literature and folklore, to use only a simple German tongue and to shun all things not Germanic. (17:42) (17:83)

Using folk literature to develop the thought and inclination of the young deserves consideration about the type of material they begin to read. The folk tales and legends gathered by the Grimm brothers exemplify the type desired. (31:142) The tales honor kings, parents, and authorities and produce a moral effect. Although fairy tales of all countries seem to have the same essentials, the Grimm's Fairy Tales in the latter half of this period followed the expectations of Goethe and found particular favor as world literature.

The motif in fairy tales is not just superstition but also one of wish and fear. Their greatest value appears to be in moral education. Respect usually prevails for the authority of kings and princes and of parents. A desire for a change of status is often expressed. Such desires have dangerous endings as in the example of "The Mouse, the Bird, and the Sausage". (13:51) When they exchange their various duties, they lose their lives. An acceptance of established class order, that is so important to German life, can be fostered by tales. "Eve's Various Children" describes

Eve bringing out her clean children for the Lord's inspection. When they are richly blessed she decides to bring out her dirty children also. With the unequal division given them as peasants and workers instead of kings and princes, she questions, only to find that "each shall have his own place, so that one shall support the other". (13:364) Throughout the majority of tales, ugliness, by some miracle, always resolves into peace and "happiness ever after". That such a miracle will result or that truth is in the tale seems to be a part of the German feeling for tales; "it must be true because it was told by grandfather who believed it".

Sprinkled in and among the tales of industriousness are tales in which cleverness triumphs and the moral lesson is not of virtue but of realizing that "such is life" is the result. "The Master Thief" does not forfeit his life because of his clever and shrewd mind. (13:390) "The Cat and Mouse in Partnership" find the two in agreement about living together and storing their fat in a pot which they hide in the church. The cat receives permission from the mouse to attend the christening of first "Top Off" and later of "Half Gone" and finally of "All Gone". Following each trip the mouse wonders at the strange family names, not realizing he has been deceived. When they later go to the pot together and find it empty the mouse understands "Top Off" and "Half Gone" but before he can say "All Gone" he is devoured also. The story ends with, "Verily, that is the way of the world." (13:6)

"We find the real soul, the imagination, and the beliefs . . ." in the literature of the mother tongue. (11:135) Following this thought in Germany's history is an interesting concept.

The historians of Germany during this period were Leopold von Ranke, Theodor Mommsen, and Heinrich von Treitschke. Their alarm for

Bismarck was characterized by Treitschke when he wrote, ". . . I love Prussia but when I hear a shallow Junker like this Bismarck boast of the iron and blood in which he intends to dominate Germany, I can only say it is hard to tell whether he is more vulgar or ridiculous". (17:150)

Mommsen and Treitschke both came to the support of Bismarck over Schleswig-Holstein considering it more important to strengthen Prussia than to uphold self-determination. The popular opinion was against the war of 1866, but Bismarck was not only the leader turning blood and iron into success but the hero who brought unification or "happiness ever after". Now the educated middle classes conceded that only the upper class should be statesmen. The middle class would continue to lend support in the spirit of "Eve's Various Children". (17:159) Treitschke even had God assuming the responsibility for Bismarck, and went to legends with the other historians to trace the empire as the legitimate heir of the Holy Roman Empire. The general trend was to abuse scholarship to support "historical rights". (17:165)

Mommsen, like others, later became disillusioned and disappointed. He thought the scar of Bismarck had gone so deep that he wrote,

The injury done by the Bismarck era is infinitely greater than its benefits. The gains in power were values which the next world historical storm might destroy, but the subjugation of the German personality, of the German mind was a misfortune which can not be undone. (17:188)

Some of the writers of this era were Gerhart Hauptmann, the poet Rilke, Hermann Hesse and Thomas Mann. Hauptmann, like Mommsen, had been a winner of the Nobel Prize. A playwright, he wrote of social reform and had a concern for the downtrodden people. His "The Weavers" (Die Weber) was hailed as the "first socialistic drama". (11:203) Hauptmann, like

Treitschke, became a supporter of the war spirit. Rilke, with many others, went into self-imposed exile and wrote of Prussia, ". . . it was the least civilized and least German and had by brutally unifying Germany suppressed all the simple and likeable Germanies of the past". (17:230)

Hesse, in exile, wrote to German youth in his "Zarathustras
Wieder kehrt: Ein Wort an die deutsche Jugend",

Have you never considered how it has come about that the German is so little loved, that he is so much hated and feared? . . . so misunderstood. But you were not misunderstood! It was you yourselves who misunderstood. . . . And you gave yourself away by pretending that your enemies always cheated in the same way! . . . Where did you get this knowledge of their hypocrisy if not from your own heart? (17:260)

Later he wrote, with better insight than some historians,

Germany has completely neglected to appreciate her appalling share of responsibility for the World War and the present situation of Europe. She should have acknowledged it (without thereby denying that her enemies too bore a heavy share of responsibility) and undertaken a moral purification. Instead Germany has used the harsh and unjust peace treaty as a pretext to lie to the world and to herself about her own guilt. (17:261)

The Weimar Republic was democratic but Germany, the Volk, had been accustomed to self-restraint by authority. This is how the Volk had been brought up. Now the throne was gone and the church had been in decline. The country had in the Weimar Republic no hero and no heroics. The "knight in shining armor" who would by some miracle change the ugliness into "happiness ever after" was not there. There was no one to teach them to venerate and obey this new state.

Bismarck left a legacy and a man writing a new book, Mein Kampf, would pick it up.

THE CURRENT IN AMERICA

Any American school child, if one were to ask him of great men in the history of his country, could probably tell, among others, of Abe Lincoln and his log cabin days. Depending upon his age he might also add Davy Crockett or Babe Ruth. His favorite game might be cowboys and Indians or baseball. America had no great collective antiquity and the immediate past became spontaneously legendary. With no heritage of literature the Americans produced their own in the American fashion of size. A joy for sheer size reflected the country's optimism. The biggest and the best was wanted when the American wove the legends of Paul Bunyan or Pesco Bill and spoke of railroad mileage or batting averages.

Americans, by the very diversity of their backgrounds, the vastness and newness of their land, all had in common the fact that they had to build, and to progress on their own. "On their own" meant individualism and at the same time cooperativeness. Americans waited on no crown or state for schools, churches, or hospitals. (4:22) They "did it". They pledged support as rapidly as when they formerly worked at a house raising.

There existed no great feats of architecture or citadels of traditions and no dynasties or ruling classes. The spaciousness of the country and the mobility that equality gave, made the American dreamers of the future. With no ruling dynasties, it was the everyday American who received considerable experience in self government. While maintaining a certain joy in a degree of lawlessness, the common man venerated the law and had, despite a lack of strict discipline, a respect, not a fear, of authority. It was not considered strange that, in the Civil War, privates on both

sides elected their officers. The equality that allowed the privates to elect officers produced no military caste. Titles on one hand fell under the disregard for rules and manners and "lord", "lady", and "von" were gone. On the other hand, honorary colonels abounded and no family Civil War story recalled any private. (4:15) At the same time when a disregard for the rules, manners and proper speech seemed to be condoned, no disregard for the rules of sportsmanship was tolerated. (4:14) Americans took sportsmanship and fair play as a serious matter.

The equality that was social long before it became political meant Americans could laugh with as well as at one another. The cartoonists were particularly noteworthy. They lampooned the politicians with a special joy. Thomas Nast, with his drawing skill coupled with his ability to understand an overall situation, was unique among these cartoonists. "Let's blind them with this, and then take some more" was the caption on the famous Tweedledee and Sweedledum cartoon showing the two robbing the city's safe and giving to the poor. This appeared after the Tweed gift of fifty thousand dollars to the poor of his native ward. (68:35) Nast represented the utmost in satiric art and his work led to the expulsion of the Tammany group. He was readily understood by some 70 to 80 thousand voters born and raised in Europe. (68:35)

"Yellow journalism" abounded but Nast and a few others kept themselves above such sensationalisms and vulgarity. The New York Times illustrated another exception and was a hallmark. The magazines Harper's and the Atlantic were rarely duplicated in skill. The growing magazine industry, however, became concerned with quantity instead of quality and for the most part declined in journalistic skills.

The historians of the era included Frederick Jackson Turner, Vernon Louis Parrington and Charles Beard. Turner was America's historian of ideas. The frontier was the most American part of America. (4:291) His influence inspired many writers. (4:294) Both Parrington and Beard were of liberal and reform leaning. Parrington wrote of history through literature and Beard was blunt in his history in order to produce no false illusions. But the pulse of the country was with the poets and songsters. "As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free". The poets exalted history and school children remembered "The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere". Songs were of the people from the cowboy ballads of "The Old Chisholm Trail" to "Oh, beautiful for spacious skys".

Like every thing else, the schools were "built from scratch". A really free and effective school system and the advent of public libraries brought education within reach of adults as well as children. The school was the great leveler. Together these institutions made an impact on the immigrant population which had become American and yet were not "Americans".

The country was not always as equal in practice as the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence claimed it would be for every American. Whether it was in regard to Negroes, Catholics, or immigrants, a few organizations hampered equality for all. One such blight was the Know-Nothing Party. They did their best to agitate, among others, the immigrant who was not "American". Under the guise of a political party with the right of free speech, they agitated and then responded that they knew nothing of it.

The ties of Puritans were weakening and the American was religious but not particularly devout. He mixed denominations, sects and even

adapted a few of his own makings. Blue laws still held sway and Sunday was a day of rest.

For the most part, the feeling in America that produced the front porch and made the word "stranger" one of welcome, was the feeling of equality that all Americans wanted to have. The feelings for right, truth, justice and loyalty were respected. "Even the Civil War could not begin until each side had satisfied itself that the other was the aggressor." (4:30)

Throughout the American social scene, the country was aware, that "Nothing in all history had ever succeeded like America, and every American knew it". (4:5)

CHAPTER VI

AN EDUCATIONAL PICTURE

GERMAN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

During the span of years between 1860 and 1930, the schools of Germany had few basic changes. The major changes included the acceptance of women and the reforms that followed the Great War. The prevailing attitude had been for boys to study and for girls to be quiet. The ambition of a school boy was to be an officer, a university professor or a government official. (5:32)

At the beginning of this era a child progressed in a rigid and bewildering diverse educational system. What was sometimes called a dual track was in reality a multiple track. The eight year level included the elementary school (Volksschule) for ages six to fourteen, the intermediate school (Mittelschule) for ages six to fifteen or the preparatory school (Vorschule) for ages six to nine. The latter school was then divided into the Gymnasium, the Realgymnasium and the Oberrealschule. These three professional training schools which the child attended from age nine to eighteen, were necessary for admittance to the secondary schools (Hochschule) and Universities. The other two tracks sent the child on to teacher training or to a voluntary trade school or a continuation school. (26:22) The decision for direction of study was made at the early age of ten. As a result, the schools were perpetuating the established class order that prevailed in Germany.

From the 1860's on, various reforms were suggested. Most of them dealt with the suggestion of a system with a one way structure (Einheitsschule) and compulsory attendance with state support for the schools. If the suggested reforms had been followed the national government would have implemented the Einheitsschule with manuals of instruction. As it was, the controversy of the various states over the religious status of schools and the traditions involved, resulted in no national reforms. Individuals states, however, began working in this direction with Prussia taking the lead. The traditions were so strong that the reforms only added to the complexity rather than relieving the diversity of the system.

Reform was active in the teacher preparation program also. The normal schools and seminaries for teachers were abolished after the war. Before this time normal or seminary training followed the Volksschule or Vorschule. After six years, three in general education and three of professional training, a state exam was given which covered scientific and practical knowledge and was followed by a seven years probationary period. (40:61) Teaching and social service were areas in which women were rarely questioned. The discussions of Einheitsschule included teacher training but its implementation caused great controversy. Whether the school should wait on a national regulation or follow a state regulation and the effect one would have in contrast to the other for national unity were hard questions to resolve. (38:441) By 1926 the states again assumed loose controls and the states that had abandoned the normal schools and seminaries now favored the pedagogical institutes connected with the universities. (38:442)

The Weimar Constitution gave the principles for the new education to try to emphasize the "unity of German national life and culture". (77:512)

The same type of Germanity of national life and culture that reminds one of the philosophy of Jahn seemed to be revived. The types of books Jahn would have approved for emphasis of national life and culture were the types that were approved by the central administrations for the "reconciliation of peoples". The ministries of Science, Art, and Public Instruction were obligated to consider the effect of various books on the school child. Grimm and Schiller were among the authors approved. (55:718) Teachers had a free hand in the interpretation of their program. They used only approved books but many printed before the war still circulated. The new type of informal teacher was being forced out by the economy of the country. This left the teachers with seniority as the interpreters. Still the German people wanted to learn and wanted to keep the schools open and to hear lectures. The use of language in such requests again reflects the use of common German that Jahn was so fond of stressing. Even with the educated, much confusion existed. One professor heard with astonishment a request from a group of working men for a lecture on Hegel. His enthusiasm and praise for the desire of ordinary people cooled when he found they really wanted to hear of Haeckel. In the pronunciation of their dialect the "ae" had sounded like "e", and the "k" like "g". (30:87)

The reforms included not only the structure of the school system, the books used, the training of teachers, but the type of physical education offered.

Gymnastics

It is impossible to consider German physical education (Leibeserziehung) without knowing Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. He was the forerunner of a new development of the entire German way of life. (15:25) All German

physical education relates wholly or in part to him. It is in agreement with him, in opposition to him or in partial agreement with him. Although he became important before the era of 1860 his influence makes it necessary to know him. His continued influence on Leibeserziehung caused the comment, ". . . he builded better than he knew". (54:275) His personal life was seen in his activity program. While he had never heard fairy tales and legends in his youth, he supported their use as a way to produce Germanity and he in fact became somewhat of a legend. (9:149) His troubles in student clubs at the various universities that he attended gave him a desire to eliminate the petty bickering that determined group memberships, and the desire to establish the club that was all German. His agitations got him in many duels and fights over the immorality of student life. This was later reflected in the desire his student groups had to abstain from the immorality that some student groups practiced. This included dueling. He often secluded himself in the rocks where even today as a part of his legend, an area is spoken of as "Jahn's Cave". (58:22)

He influenced three movements: free corps of patriotic volunteers, gymnastic associations for training of patriotic fighters, and student fraternities. (17:83) These three areas of activity popularized Leibeserziehung and began the first major movement in Germany. (44:390) Jahn's activity brought new words to the German vocabulary. His pure common German which avoided all use of foreign words invented "turnen". He chose turnen believing it to be symbolic of ancient German spirit, and denoting the medieval tournaments. (17:83) (58:31) A number of word combinations denoting phases of gymnastics were coined using the stem of this word. (7:29)

The desire Jahn had to eliminate rank and caste status in the army was also a factor in the decision of the participants of his turnen groups to adopt a uniform. Replacement of clothing and wear and tear were held to a minimum when an unbleached linen jacket and trousers were adopted.

His method had no system but was somewhat like "follow the leader". Several youthful leaders would aid activity. A child worked at his own pace, did what he could and even invented what he could. (58:32) Contrary to opinion, Jahn's primary purpose was not one of pedagogy and health but of patriotism. (59:4) Although civilian in appearance and not connected with the schools, the spirit was military and Jahn knew he had a potential army. (17:83) Supposedly not political, the spirit of the group did in fact invade political thought. At a reformation festival, Massmann, a Turner, in imitation of Luther's burning of the papal bulls, threw a number of fake books into a bonfire. The titles, however, were read to the assembled crowd as each was tossed into the flames. They corresponded with those the Turners had found objectionable. (59:9) Such acts put the Jahn groups into political difficulties.

Jahn for some time had been a popular hero. He received a honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy for his influence on the young and his efforts in behalf of the German language. (59:3) While the German language was important to him he said, ". . . exercise of the body must be placed alongside learning of the mother tongue". (31:142) Exercise included ". . . walking, running, springing, throwing, carrying, climbing and mounting . . . (and) attention to climbing of hills and mountains, skiing . . .". (31:142) All this was to take place outdoors in an atmosphere free from school regimentation.

This changed because national purposes changed. Prussia began a heavier military trend that Jahn did not like. The Turners were, for awhile, to meet with suppression. When Friedrich Jahn died he asked the following to be written on his tombstone:

German, you who pass by, and have not yet forgotten
your mother tongue for French and Polish, hear my
motto: shame, misery, curses, destruction and death
on you if you expect a savior from abroad. (53:326)

Massmann and Jahn were unenthusiastic when the man named Adolf Spiess came to them from exile in Switzerland with a new program. Adolf Spiess later had on his tombstone the legend:

The Founder of School Gymnastics

Adolf Spiess

His Pupils and Friends

1892

(9:703)

Jahn had his place as the forerunner of the new way of life and Spiess did something different for the movement by bringing it into the schools. For this reason he also must be known in a history of Leibeserziehung. The Prussian schools were enthusiastic about his program, for national purposes were changing and physical activities changed with them. Spiess and Jahn, however, were diametrically opposite. Jahn for all his liberalism saw in girls a value for the nation only in their marriage. (31:142) He thought that women should be educated in the mother tongue and hand work and "although they were not to be denied activity they should, in fact, dance". (9:84) Spiess included the girls and women giving them lighter hand apparatus and variations with the larger apparatus. In his insistence on his program in the school, Spiess followed the thinking of the government in the changes that were desired.

Not with squad leaders but with trained personnel the program was activated; not with follow the leader leisure did a child respond to activity but by command and instruction. The girls also took part in the command activity. In activity, Massmann, the student of Jahn, admitted that girls perhaps needed bodily exercise more than the boys. (9:84) The Spiess program had a formality that the authorities seemed to feel brought the people to a more submissive response. This was not readily accepted by Turners. Obedience, memory training and quiet response were evident in the work Spiess did. (5:22) His was also an indoor method with a form that had to be "just so". The disciplinary exercises by counting and games and dances of his program became a requirement. Prussia had its own manual that was revised three different times. The last edition included light apparatus work, running games and ball games. Not until 1913 did Prussia manage an edition of the manual geared to the needs of women. Spiess himself was very musical and some of the music for exercises in gymnastics work in later books belongs to him. (14:68) He used music not only for exercises but for marching also.

Spiess had been a member of the Burschenschaft at the University of Giessen and had been active in gymnastics. His methods, however, were unlike any that he had learned from Jahn's methods. He gathered groups at the opening of class for mass instruction and exercise. This was quite contrary to the traditional methods of informal squads doing as they wanted with the aid of leaders. Instead of the outdoor apparatus he used little or none. (3:34) He began to use marching exercises in order to accommodate the larger classes. He advocated physical exercise as part of the education of the child. (3:34) His work was divided for the various grade levels and progressed for age levels and sex differences. He advocated that physical activity rank with other subjects.

The marching and calisthenics were not enough for the militant. Hugo Rothstein appears in the German picture briefly with a new military vigor. The pupils of Jahn, now heads of Turner groups, and the pupils of Spiess' Schulturnen both found militarism objectionable. (5:26) Rothstein's military approach had an officers' discipline and forced turnen and Spiess type work to briefly lose favor. In favor of the militant atmosphere were Emil Schenckendorff and Dr. H. Lorenz. They wrote a book which stressed the need of strong Germans for defense. It included military tactics and training for school battalions. A drawing appeal to the book was the autographed picture of Kaiser William II. (54:331)

Jahn, Spiess, and Rothstein are the three names in the formation of these types of activities: turnen, schulturnen, and militarism. These activities formed the initial movement of Germany's Leibeserziehung history. The names that followed were those of writers opposed to these forms and of men attempting to bridge the gaps between Jahn and Spiess and between the gymnastics and the sports and games movements.

While the youth had questioned the methods of Spiess, von Rothstein had stepped in with ex-officers and started an even more rigid program of formal work and marching. Dr. Lion combated Rothstein in aiding the Royal Training School for Teachers of Gymnastics. He was joined by other Turners (some of whom had found Spiess objectionable) such as Massmann, the Angerstein brothers and Carl Euler. (5:28) In Berlin the youth started open rebellion against the Prussian spirit in the school (Gymnasium). The industrialization and the military attitudes of the schools brought the folk and youth away to the country. With the spirit of the rebellion leading the boys to take protest hikes, the girls began to follow and soon the populace joined them. It seemed as if Jahn's comment, ". . . wandering by foot through the Fatherland is one of the most important parts of

a spiritual and physical education", was being revived. (31:142) The boys rebelled against the immorality that had crept into the Spiess schools and, adhering to the principles of Jahn, they joined the hikers in the out of doors and wandered or hiked until the movement became called Wandervogel. (5:32) Walking became a national pastime. If ever an activity was to be called the national sport, hiking was it for the Germans. The cities that took the people away from the country were becoming aware that they needed activity. Not only walking but playgrounds made an appearance.

Sports and games began to be the activity on the playground. Importing the games and sports from England were August Hermann, Dr. Konrad Koch and Emil von Schneckendorff. (6:941) Hermann was a force in reference to girls' and women's activity. He issued a handbook written about exercises and games in which they could take part. (54:331) The game of football he brought from England and it quickly took root. (6:23) He was also interested in track and field and the format of Olympic competition. This type of festival celebration interested him. He is remembered earlier for his influence in celebrating the Battle of Sedan by competitions in the traditional forms of exercises. (35:326)

This was a transitional period. Dr. Alferd Maul, Carl A. Bothke, Ferd Goetz, Mortiz Zettle and Rudolf Lion were the active Turners during these years when games and sports were included in a greater quantity than ever before. Their magazine Siebentes Deutsches Turnfest included not only descriptions but drawings of various new games. The magazine printed the art work of its membership as well as their poetry. Often its poems

and songs rang with the patriotism of their originator calling for the time ". . . when all Germans are truly united!". (71:9)

Carl Euler was the Turner who with Moritz Kloss tried to bridge the gap. It appears that he made no unique contribution in sports or methods but helped establish turnen in the Netherlands. (6:1076) He was an astute scholar and writer. His most famous works are his volumes on Friedrich Jahn. His first major work was Weibliche Turnkunst, describing the place for women in gymnastics. He also compiled a comprehensive three volume encyclopedia called a handbook for gymnastics. It included many phases of Turnwesen. Lesson planning for gymnastic instruction and the various modifications of leaders were included. As a doctor he was interested in a coverage of musculature and physiological factors. (9:174) Euler also included the influence of people outside Turnen and the effect they may have had on the movement. He mentions Kaiser Wilhelm II and the comments attributed to the Kaiser, ". . . we want to have a strong generation . . . women are more important than the manly boys when we look at family life". (9:91) Jahn is briefly described as is Spiess, Rothstein, Kloss, Lion, and the Angersteins. He included articles and material by Dr. Wassmannsdorff in the medical sections and articles by Basedow, Salzmann and Guts Muths in the educational sections. Euler's The History of Educational Gymnastics (Geschichte des Turnunterrichts) was considered the standard German History. (57:18) This encyclopedia was written early in this era yet Euler already included swimming, corrective exercises, and the soon to be popular games and sports. Many of the articles he wrote himself. Remembering the folk emphasis of Jahn and with a feeling for sport he wrote, ". . . where Leibeserziehung is impressed deeply in folk life, sport will always be found there. . .". (9:706)

Moritz Kloss was also a prodigious writer. He wrote a Catechism of Gymnastics (Katechismus der Turnkunst), Women's Gymnastics (Die weibliche Turnkunst) and Gymnastics in the Play of Girls (Das Turnen in der Spielen der Mädchen). The Catechism, like Luther's, tried to give all the questions and answers. Its brief history described the Greeks, Romans, the Reformation and Philanthropine eras, which indicated that he looked beyond the German view. Kloss studied under the aged Jahn and was said to be much like him in personality. But Kloss wanted Leibeserziehung in the schools under capable teachers! For teachers he wrote an instruction book, Pädagogische Turnlehre. The Catechism reflected the diversity of the times in describing methods of Spiess, Massmann and Rothstein.

In this period gymnastics held the spotlight for older youths and the folk. The folk gathered for gymnastics festivals (Turnfeste) yearly. They held marathon races and allowed rowing and cycling to come into their program. Jahn had used such games as the running activity of "Robber and Traveller". This game became "Knights and Citizen". (58:29) Such games were popular with the children. The small children still did their exercises in a German type of day's order. The end of the activity involved games. Some are still familiar. The circle game of linked arms with the mouse in the center and the cat outside, was even then called Cat and Mouse (Katze and Maus) and had a rhythmic chant that delighted the children.

Mäuschen, Mäuschen, Komm heraus!
 Ich mag aber nicht!
 Dann kratz' ich Dir die Augen aus!
 So fahr' ich zu meinem Löchlein naus! (14:47)

And the race was on! Many of these children games required hand apparatus. A variation of nine pins with a very small ball was a favorite of the girls. They also enjoyed a game called Reifenspiel. While the boys fenced the

girls played Reifenspiel, using their foil to become adept at catching and throwing small hoops on the blade. The trick was to maintain three hoops in action. (14:100) For all the marching and working on ladders and with ropes, wands and poles, the children were still urged to do turnen outside of the school and to participate in sports such as ice skating and skiing. The latter became a very popular method of wandering. Ski enthusiasts, participating in the national pastime of wandering, substituted their own "Ski Heil", for the "Gut Heil". (6:93) The ski clubs of Berlin enjoyed such wanderings and included ski games in their ski skills. (6:964) The best development of the body, however, was still considered to be the ever popular turnen. (15:377)

At the turn of the century three types of turnen were Schulturnen, Heilturnen, and Wehrtturnen. (15:106) The Schulturnen was to build up young bodies to the highest degree of strength and energy. It was also building character in boys and girls. Schulturnen was the turnen of Adolf Spiess. The Heilturnen was for the soundness of the body and was considered medical gymnastics. The many doctors in the Turner groups had put an emphasis on the scientific background of activity for health. (15:99) The Wehrtturnen was interested in building the soldier.

At this time the question of women's participation was still debatable. Dr. Eduard Angerstein, the physician, supported Kloss in preparing material for women to use. His brother Dr. Wilhelm Angerstein, the gymnastic teacher (Turnlehrer) wrote of the theory and practice of turnen for teachers and "all friends" of turnen. (15:65) "All the friends" seemed to be all the Volk, for public gymnastics (Volksturnen) had become an everyday occurrence. (5:14) (71:9) Turnen had its roots planted firmly in the German middle class culture. "To be a Turner is to be a German!" (5:15)

Sports and Games

The second big movement in German Leibeserziehung was getting underway around 1910. The impact of sports and games started some ten thousand sport clubs. (44:390) The dangers to physical and mental health caused by city life resulted in the formation of a Central Committee for the Advancement of Folk and Child Play. (53:325) The youth had numerous Wandervögel groups. The industrial revolution forced the reforms. The Turners, leaving their suppressed activities which they had carried on indoors, added numerous games to their gymnastic activities. The schools, using the Spiess system, remained somewhat formal. Although the Central Committee had the interest of school children as its first objective, the masses, who were the third objective, (following the upper classes) were most benefited. This movement turned out to be for the Volk.

Higher institutions were encouraged to support the Central Committee for the Advancement of Folk and Child Play under the influence of Dr. Eitner and Dr. von Schenckendorff. Their goals included the stimulation of interest in play, the development of teachers and leaders and the securing and maintaining of playgrounds. They wanted to introduce play activity to all age levels. They held congresses with demonstrations in the manner of the Turners and they published a yearbook and a magazine called Body and Mind.

In higher educational institutes, there were fears of the masses grasping this new play movement. The war glorifier Treitschke condemned it as a spot on the German character, writing:

The simple loyalty of the German contrasts remarkably with the unchivalrousness of the English character. This seems to be due to the fact that in England physical culture is sought, not in the exercise of noble arms, which undoubtedly have their value, but which obviously tend to encourage a brutal and purely athletic point of view and the single and superficial ambition of getting a first prize. (31:260)

The Olympics gave added impetus to private clubs. The government, however, gave no financial support. Emil Hartwich had published a blunt pamphlet advocating a mind and body education. (6:941) The Prussian Ministry gave it verbal support and referred to the traditions of Jahn. (53:327) In the guise of a temporary peace and the joy of the new unification all was well with the activity trend. In 1912 the poor Olympic showing caused concern among some sport and Leibeserziehung advocates. As a result a commission was sent to America to observe and to study the American activity program. The commission was typically German. It attempted to solve a problem by a study commission and then failed to implement it at the national level. The cities and states continued to do as they wished. At the same time the Germans never seemed to lose faith in organizing to the national level. It seemed proper in all activities to organize small groups, state groups and finally a national group.

Carl Diem was the head of the Olympic Commission that came to the United States. The year 1913 and his work with this commission were to launch the most outstanding career in German Leibeserziehung! In his report on his findings he stated, ". . . leaders . . . must insure that sports become a blessing for youth and not a disaster". (44:391) The DRA, a national organization for adults interested in physical activities, drew up a law to implement the findings. The authorities were to lay out three square meters of playground space per head of population. (5:43) The law was never put into effect but many areas voluntarily tried to provide the playground space prescribed. Eventually almost every village had its own playing field. Diem already realized that Germany had an

eclectic nature for all the Germanity claimed. Leibeserziehung was a synthesis of classical, antique, Swedish gymnastics, English sport and American playgrounds. The German nature liked being out of doors. The wandering movement had been growing and now not just hikers but rowers, skiers and climbers took part. With the excitement of the Olympic commission and their reports, sport unions sprang up in abundance. The unions organized into leagues and the leagues asked the Olympic commission for support and advice. The unions included every activity imaginable and grew to such proportion that they claimed the largest number of youth in the world in their organizations. (6:982) The workers had the most popular unions. Among them the railroad and postal workers had the very largest unions. (44:391) Diem and the Olympic commission, on their trip to America, were impressed with the philosophy of Hetherington and Williams. From them the commission gave all their work a new direction toward health. The health emphasis even effected the schools training teachers for Leibeserziehung. A medical background was stressed. The Hochschule was no longer for one year and purely practical but was raised to the science level. The requirements were increased to match those of a university. The gymnasium style was less commanding and genial "Gut Heil" greeting prevailed.

Diem and the Olympic Commission heard a great deal of thunder for their efforts from both sides of the Atlantic. At the request of his professional friend, R. Tait McKenzie, Diem replied to such critics. The Olympic study was merely to see what could be adapted without losing national originality. It was not an attempt to make Germans adhere to the American Method but instead would be endorsed, ". . . by all Germans who have the bodily welfare of the German people at heart". (43:531) Diem went

on lecture tours to defend his principles. He received adherents, and, ". . . where in some cases, my proposals were not accepted the rejection arose from the right of priority to which others thought themselves entitled". (43:531) He felt his commission did not waste time on disadvantages of the American system but looked for the strong points: the life and enthusiasm in American sport due to the spirit of competition. Aged people participated in turnen activity but only competition could induce the young to enjoy physical training. The numerous records that Americans keep and break bespeak of the fresh strength of youth and joyful ambition. The doctors and trainers should be trained to counter the disadvantage of the excessive drive to break records. (43:540)

In his haste to defend the commission's recommendations, Diem claimed that until the commission's work, ". . . no German high school was equipped with an athletic field", and "nearly all German schools and educational institutions, whether high or low, are ignorant of the good of sports. . .". (43:542)

At this time Diem felt Germany's great advantage over America was the military service duty. He advocated the use of records, record breaking and awards. The DRA created a sports badge, and he pleaded for training grounds and exercise places and every opportunity of indulging in sport. (43:542) He did not doubt, ". . . that the time will shortly come when my proposals will be accepted and introduced into Germany. May it come soon". (43:542) The war was about to stymie the movement with militarism in the schools.

Following the war the German susceptibility to "movements" started the Volksturnen. These organizations were for those over eighteen years

of age. The DRA (Der deutscher Reichsausschuss fur Leibesubungen) was the largest and was non political. It grew out of the Olympic Commission and officially became the DRA after the Great War when it merged with the Central Committee for Folk and Child Play. Its work was advisory, and promotive. It comprised over 30,000 clubs. The building work of stadiums and playgrounds was among its outstanding promotions. Despite severe inflation, the DRA founded the German College of Physical Education (Deutsche Hochschule fur Leibeserziehung) in 1920. (6:982) The holding of conventions, congresses, and aiding legislation involving women, playgrounds, and hygiene were among its functions. (6:984) It was always involved in German Olympic work and in the formation of the winter games. (6:994, 995)

The executive secretary of the DRA was Carl Diem and the President, Dr. Theodor Lewald. Dr. Lewald had been active in Olympic work for many years, and worked hard to restore the Olympic spirit after the war. (6:976) He was a man of the Goethe spirit and he saw much of Goethe in Olympic thought. (6:977) Lewald was active in the international picture also, contributing to the International Olympic Committee.

The DRA had eight permanent departments, an executive assembly and a general assembly. There were members of a parliamentary committee who served representatives from the unions and other affiliated bodies. While the German Gymnastics Union is often thought to have been the largest, it was not. It had 1,200 members at the same time the Union of Women Leibeserziehung teachers had 40,000 members. (5:58)

After the war Leibeserziehung was required of teacher candidates and all universities had directors in this area. (26:4) The leading schools were the Preussische Hochschule fur Leibeserziehung and the Deutsche Hochschule fur Leibeserziehung. Both schools included anatomy, physiology,

hygiene, history of Leibeserziehung and methods. The former's chief feature was that no specialists existed. In the DRA school, the spirit was one of developing top notch performers. Its program was considered more extensive and, although connected with Berlin University, it was a private school. It was not recognized by the state as was the Prussian school. The state felt the Prussian school had a spirit of "... developing leaders of youth. Their activity was marching, games and always began with 'Gut Heil' for a friendly greeting". (26:56)

Rhythmic Gymnastics

At about the same time as the sports and games movement began, a third movement was also in action, Rhythmic gymnastics. It was somewhat influenced by Americans: Elizabeth Duncan and Bess Mensendieck. The Austrians Karl Gaulhofer and Prof. Dr. Margarete Streicher added their influence. The former began a school in Berlin. (6:643) Frau Streicher and Gaulhofer brought a "natural gymnastics" to this area. (6:1058) Their movements explored and used the apparatus as obstacles instead of supports. She incorporated rhythmical methods with their instructions. (44:392)

The areas of light gymnastics (turnen), gymnastics (rhythmic Gymnastik), and dance were grouping together. They all had adherents and quite often overlapped in their work. In Germany the names of Rudolf Bode, Hinrich Medau were known in Gymnastik, Streicher and Gaulhofer in naturliches Turnen, and Rudolf von Laban and Mary Wigman in Tanz. (6:644) Both Mary Wigman and von Laban did work in New York where Laban became quite noted for his "Labanotation", the writing or recording of dance movement. (6:651)

Karl Gaulhofer and Margarete Streicher wrote in the area of methods for their particular new turnen. In rhythmische Gymnastik the name of

Rudolf Bode again appeared. For a grounding in all the areas of rhythmic gymnastics designed for small children, the books of Liselott Diem would later appear. (7:243)

The tendency in this area did not in general produce any clubs, but there arose a great number of schools of rhythmic gymnastics which brought women's physical education to a high degree of perfection in respect to both health and the development of self expression in dancing (Ausdruckstanz). (44:390)

Sports and Prophecy

After the Great War, the sports movement and rhythmic movements received a great impetus by the war weary people. There was a relearning to play for the sake of health. The requirement time for Leibeserziehung was increased from the three hours of 1914 to the ideal "daily hour" in many areas. (5:40) Germany's very attempt at play and organization was in effect also the downfall. The wonderful sport clubs, Turner unions and the like were infiltrated with political propaganda. As democracy began to fail, the excitement of Hitler's marching began to supplant the work done. (5:67) All this organization was lost to Hitler. (44:391) The 1936 Olympics reaped the harvests and Leibeserziehung appeared strong but the genuine sports movement that had evolved, ". . . was sinking and would shortly go to the depths". (44:391)

Carl Diem, however, was not of the regime that wanted to direct men. He still wanted to educate them. The present day union of the BVDL (Bundesverband Deutscher Leibeserzieher) considered him the greatest spirit in the sporting movement. (52:1) He exemplified the Olympic spirit of which he was so fond. He knew the philosophers and made philosophy a part of his

work. Diem quoted Schiller, saying ". . . man is only a whole man when he plays,". (7:5) He believed in this philosophy of the necessity to play. When Streicher and Gaulhofer brought a new movement to Germany, he was not afraid to use this new found philosophy of body education. (7:35) He used physical education to teach instead of the traditional "Nurnberger funnel" of German thought that "poured" knowledge into students. (7:35)

Carl Diem stepped into the latter part of the era 1860 to 1930 and was destined to become "regarded as a Titan". (72:64) "He was the unquestionable leader of German physical education from 1920 to 1962. . .". (72:64) German Leibeserziehung was getting a prophecy in his philosophy. He believed the adage of Fröbel that "Education is an example and nothing but love". (7:223) Sport was his motto for sport was a universal word in his thinking; understood in all countries. (7:1) Yet while he believed sport had a rightful place at the heights, he also thought it should be limited at the same time ". . . to its modest helpful place in life". (7:230)

Students at the Deutsche Hochschule fur Leibeserziehung, of which he was the director, no doubt knew, not only the proper educational plans to follow and the organization of a lesson hour, but the Ten Commandments of Sports which he advocated.

The Ten Commandments of Sports

1. Go in for sports for sports sake without looking for profit and without searching for honor, true to the rules and true to your friends; to be strong is to be well.
2. Practice obediently, persevering, dutifully and joyfully; as long as you live, while you are capable of exercising.
3. Put into sport all your strength, but allow sport to remain a melodious accompaniment and not the contents of life.

4. Never give up, not in training and not in competition, but all sport is not worth being sick an hour.
5. Yield to no struggle--renounce chivalrously any accidental advantage--strive, instead of applause from the audience, to (receive) the praise of your conscience.
6. Search for the strongest opponent and respect him as your friend; the guest is always right.
7. Win with pride but without bragging, lose with dignity without excuse or grumbling; more important than victory is your attitude.
8. Follow the referee without a word, even when he seems to make a mistake.
9. The first congratulation is meant for your conqueror--the first reward of the vanquished; for you or your team may give only a wish: may the best always win!
10. Keep yourself pure in body, spirit and mind; win honor for yourself, for your club, and for your country. (7:24)

AMERICAN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Americans were no more anxious to accept European education than they were to accept a church and state government or even one church. Education from the beginning was eclectic, gathering thoughts here and there. Some claimed there were no values and no objectives, but there was a single ladder system and anyone could go to the top. It took some twenty years at the turn of the century for America to take the philosophy of the experience it had gained and to use it as guidance for learning. (46:381) A great deal of the educational thought had its origin with such men as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. Theirs was an education that used common sense. (33:233) It resulted in the ideal of social justice and eventually the tax supported school.

Cooperation was necessary because America had no social or educational traditions. A National Teachers Association was active from

the beginning of this era and later became the NEA. The public schools of England became the basic pattern. Dr. Henry Barnard and Horace Mann advocated common school for the common man. (12:140) Barnard was the force that gave the common school support from the tax dollar of the public. Not only did America have to educate and adjust to people of many different cultural backgrounds, but the country had to offer the amount of education necessary to keep up with the population growth. This was ". . . the most massive of all the great changes in American Education". (12:v)

John Dewey, who was the guiding force for the progressive American teacher, wrote, ". . . the forces that have influenced me have come from persons and situations more than from books . . .". (62:395) The American school situation was following the "American-Line" of universal free, co-educational and compulsory schools. After the war the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education were approved by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. It was evidence that a "socialization" was occurring in education. (33:243) Health, citizenship and worthy home membership were indicated among the Cardinal Principles as a part of education.

Massachusetts was the state most educationally minded. Its school system began early and was founded on the conviction that ". . . every Christian should live in an immediate and personal relation with his Lord". (33:225) Massachusetts was a state that often produced extremes. Fanatic abolitionists as well as educators had a stronghold. In a state that was intolerant in some aspects there was room for educational experiments. The disciples of Fröbel were numerous. Elizabeth Peabody, who had studied in Germany, was one such advocate and worked with the German Kindergarten movement. The Kindergarten has been one of the most lasting of German influences.

The newspapers found advanced education for women an amusing subject. The women had been accepted in many schools and were given some support. The normal schools were on the rise. The high schools, which began as boys schools, became the public high schools. As a legacy of Barnard, the public high school was called America's greatest social invention. (67:393) It was a stepping stone for women. The need for manpower, as a result of the Civil War, opened business and professional positions to women. Their education in the normal schools now took on added significance.

Initial Influences

The early physical activity in America was influenced by the Turners, private schools, individuals, the YMCA and public gymnasiums. The latter was significant in the larger cities only. German gymnastics was given a new impetus by the political refugees of 1848. The Jahn followers that fled Germany had a momentary flourish at the Round Hill School in Massachusetts and at Harvard. (36:29) As a result German gymnastics was introduced in America almost half a century before the Swedish. (28:216) Beck was the turner at the Round Hill School and Follen at Harvard. Lieber introduced swimming in the Boston area. These three Germans developed the initial German influence.

The women of the country were not yet diverse enough to allow the system of Catherine Beecher to last. A system of calisthenics, although made lighter and stressing postural work, was a system before its time. Miss Beecher had deliberately made her system lighter than the German for it seemed the girls that attended school were frail and often in need of postural corrections. Miss Beecher's family was more educated than most and she showed an early interest in many aspects of education. Physiology

was one such interest. (28:210) Later she served on the staff of Dio Lewis' school. Their philosophies were in disagreement and she left his staff. She was the first American women physical educator, and had the first real American system.

Dio Lewis, considered to have had a magnetic personality, opposed the heavy German work and combined other systems to form his own. A part of his system did include variations of Swedish movements. He apparently was not interested in the scientific aspect of the Swedish work. (28:204) Delphine Hanna had remarked "that there well might be a functional scientific basis on which physical training should be founded. . .", and he gave the reply, "You don't need a scientific basis, people want to be humbugged". (61:51) Lewis was considered to have "exceedingly good looks" and personal charm but Delphine Hanna was not impressed. She was disillusioned and left his school. (28:211)

As an aftermath of the Civil War, many private academies in the North considered including military training. This military drill, imposed as a part of the Morrill Land Grant, supplanted in part even the gymnastic systems that had grown in the colleges. It was at this time that medical men interested in anthropometrics and health, and philanthropists became interested in physical education. At the same time Edward Hitchcock began his work at Amherst College. He met opposition but Hitchcock was described as a tireless man. (74:264) His appointment was to correct the poor health and physical development of students at the college. Hitchcock's department later became a model of efficiency and organization for many physical educators.

William G. Anderson, doctor though he was, did not feel completely and adequately prepared in physical training. He had been active in a

Turnverein, but thought a common ground in physical education could be established. The meeting he called in November of 1885 evolved into the present American Association of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. (56:27) The first meeting resulted in the formation of The American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education. This first meeting of the AAPE was marked by the absence of any turners. (36:36) Their work was done within their group. Yet, it is strange that Anderson, who was familiar with their work, did not extend an invitation to them. When an initial constitution was adopted, Dr. H. J. Starkloff of the North American Turnerbund was among the officers. (56:27) This first constitution was short and dependent on the yearly meeting. It proved to be inadequate. Absent at first, the German influence was felt when an observation team of Hitchcock, Sargent and Hartwell went to the North American Gymnastic Association (Turnerbund) to study their methods and constitution. They were impressed with the closer union observed and formulated a longer but little more effective constitution for the Association. (63:540) The Turners were a large group and their constitution followed the hierarchy of which they were so fond. The AAPE was a much smaller group and was not at home in the revised constitution they had adopted. Since it was not a feasible document, a new committee began work on it. This new group had a woman on the committee; her name was Amy Morris Homans. (63:540)

Miss Amy Morris Homans, after teaching a few years, became the secretary of the wealthy Boston widow Mary Hemenway. (28:265) Mrs. Hemenway was interested in education and did a substantial amount of philanthropy in this area. The Swedish system flourished as the result of the aid it received from her. Miss Homans, though not trained in physical education, was an outstanding leader. She supported the Swedish system and was

instrumental in getting Mrs. Hemenway's support for the movement. During the years Miss Homans served Mrs. Hemenway, she was declared "one of her right hands". (19:331) They organized and directed the Boston Normal School of Household Arts and later the gymnastic school. (28:266) The Boston Conference, for which they were responsible, has been considered a major landmark in the history of the profession. (19:331) Because Mrs. Hemenway was interested in children and saw in the Swedish system a means for health, she financed the conference in Boston to draw interest to the Swedish benefits. So much enthusiasm was shown that the Association cancelled its own convention to attend the Boston meeting. (56:37) As a result of Mrs. Hemenway financing instruction in the Swedish system, it was adapted by the Boston schools. (28:237)

The result of the Boston conference initiated the famed "Battle of the Systems". Adherents of Swedish, German, and the new Sargent or Hitchcock methods were all involved. Not only controversy over whether the system was foreign but whether the stress was on muscle education or "the total development of the vital organs" was a part of the big battle. Dudley Sargent closed the conference with these words:

What America most needs is the happy combination which Europeans are trying to effect; the strength giving qualities of the German gymnasium, the active and energetic properties of the English sports, the grace and suppleness acquired from French calisthenics, and the beautiful poise and mechanical precision of the Swedish free movements, all regulated, systematized, and adapted to our peculiar needs and institutions.... (36:117)

Sargent, the pioneer in tests and measurements, was said to have developed his own system. (8:165) Others thought he had no system since his method was constantly changing. He considered individual needs and took extensive measurements and gave strength tests to determine the needs.

His various pieces of apparatus were designed to improve whatever weaknesses the individual might have. With this concern for the individual, he must have been alarmed to view the excesses of intercollegiate athletics. He was among those who worked for proper controls in that area. (28:269)

The type of program he would have approved was reflected in his statement:

It is more to the credit of a university to have one hundred men who can do a creditable performance in running, rowing, ball-playing, etc., than to have one man who can break a record, or a team that can always win the championship. (28:269)

Delphine Hanna was the first woman in physical education to hold a professorship. Her interest in research and teacher training gave her many firsts in the area of physical education. Her methods in teaching gymnastics followed the well-organized educational plan of a "daily hour". Her plan was much like the German system in its progression. (49:115) It also had a flavor of the Swedish with its inclusion of the respiratory exercises. She opened her class on a plan that called for tactics, attention, roll call, march, stretches and swings, relax, balance, respiratory activity, marching, gymnastic dancing or games. (49:520) The games included bean bag activities, throwing a basketball, zig zag ball with a tennis ball, curtain ball or a "Berlin Polka". (49:571) In regard to a biography request, Dr. Hanna had written, "I do not want my biography written, for if my work was worthy it is still in progress". (61:51) As she worked she questioned. Her questions led her to include some aspects of various systems in her teaching. Her work did continue for her students also questioned and later evolved a "natural gymnastics" of their own.

Most schools emphasized the systems of their preference. Succeeding conventions continued to wage the "Battle". Individual states began legislation to increase health and vigor. The first states were California in

1866, Ohio in 1892, Wisconsin in 1897, North Dakota in 1899 and Pennsylvania in 1901. (56:40) Theodore Roosevelt became the first President to invite physical educators to the White House for a conference. Even an executive department of physical culture was proposed in 1902 with the executive head having the same rank as a cabinet member. In the legislative field from 1892 to 1931, thirty bills and resolutions were introduced that called for military training. During the same period twenty-eight bills or resolutions for physical training were introduced. At the beginning of this period, the military bills were greater in number. As they declined the physical training bills gained in proportion. (78:157)

The new professional association helped to arouse public disapproval of military drills in the schools. Not only were systems diverse from all these influences but the rules in the various sports and games had their variations. The AAAPPE Council formed a committee to aid the women in the variations that existed in their games. The committee studied the rules of basketball, a most popular game with the ladies. Soon disputes from other sports came to this group and this committee became strictly a woman's part of the association.

The AAAPPE published a magazine called the Physical Education Review, the Turners published Mind and Body and much writing was done in hygiene, physiology, gymnastic exercises and sport rules and dance. Fred Leonard covered various areas of physical education history. His articles on Jahn and the German system, and on Ling and the Swedish system were of great interest at this time. (58:18) The Spaulding Sporting Goods Company worked with the women of the association to produce their rule books. Some books such as McKenzie's Exercise in Education and Medicine and Elizabeth Burchenal's fifteen volumes of folk songs were considered classics. (60:48) (36:64)

The emphasis of the medical men on gymnastics and measurement was giving way to the tremendous influence of competitive games and the dance. The informality of the new interest was more to the liking of Americans. The scientific bases were still the strength behind the physical activity, but the "Battle of the Systems" was spent. Dr. McKenzie described the vying systems as parts

. . . to play in a well rounded organization. They are like the instruments of a good orchestra, each coming in in its appropriate place and in its appropriate way. (54:47)

A new era came to physical education in the philosophy of four leaders who carried physical education beyond the professional circle. They were R. Tait McKenzie, Thomas Wood, Luther H. Gulick and Clark Hetherington. McKenzie exemplified the new physical education that came from the Hetherington and Wood philosophy. He was identified with health, physical education and recreation. "He was in search of the physical ideal, inseparable from mental perfection, and wanted everyone to know, as he did, the joy of effort." (60:48) This versatile internationally acclaimed man had won much fame as a sculptor. His masks depicting "violent effort", "breathlessness", "fatigue", and "exhaustion" were acclaimed by scientists and artists. They were viewed in London and later in Paris. (6:750) His "Column of Youth" depicting the ideal American boy and girl, back to back, is now in the National Education Association's building in Washington, D. C. "No one of modern times has bound the profession to the glories of its ancient heritage as did he through his art work. In this alone his contribution is unique." (28:330)

Luther Halsey Gulick, born of missionary parents, was one of Delphine Hanna's pupils. He was a literary giant. His writings included the book Physical Education and the editorship of numerous periodicals. (19:319)

The lay public came to know more of physical education as a result of his activity. His influence was felt in the areas of camping, playgrounds, the YMCA, and in folk dance. His interest also touched hygiene and the public schools. His many achievements are commemorated with the Gulick award, the highest award of the profession. (36:145) The design for the Gulick medal was executed by R. Tait McKenzie.

Gulick had compared gymnastics to athletics to the former's disadvantage. Thomas D. Wood, his former roommate at Oberlin, however, developed the new "natural gymnastics". The program of physical education he advocated was designed around sports and games. (28:282) It was concerned with the health of the pupil. Wood was supported by Jesse Williams and Clark Hetherington. (28:283) Hetherington was the philosopher of the profession and, as a promotor of the natural gymnastics he brought physical education to the attention of those in general education. (28:323) Gulick, Wood and Hetherington broke the tradition of systems and formed a ". . . distinctively twentieth century program of physical education, which centers upon the physical as an avenue for promoting education". (36:51) Hetherington believed the program had to be rooted in American society, therefore, no German or Swedish systems could have proper results for their life blood was from a different culture. (36:52) He urged, ". . . that physical education was not so much an education of the physical as a physical means of providing educational opportunity for self-realization and self-development. . .". (8:172) There was not a quick and easy change to this program. There were criticisms that this was a "What would you like to do today?" type of program.

Additional Influences

The Industrial Revolution had a great effect, especially in large cities, and physical education and recreation followed with playgrounds and sports. (36:42) Chicago had Hull House which started that city's playground movement. (34:405) Throughout the country, playground development, initially slow, picked up momentum. (19:344) Joseph Lee became the father of this movement. While playgrounds were among the American characteristics that were impressive to the German Olympic commission, it is interesting to note that credit for the first playground in America is given to the city of Boston. Here Dr. Maria Zakerzewska's suggestion was adopted. Her suggestion was made as a result of viewing the success of sandpiles for children in the parks of Berlin. (36:43) James A. Garfield in a Chautauqua lecture said,

We may divide the whole struggle of the human race into two chapters; first the fight to get leisure and then the second fight of civilization, what shall we do with our leisure when we get it? (19:368)

Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick was instrumental in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association and in the founding of the Camp Fire Girls. His philosophy of play stated that it was an attitude. He was interested in an attitude of play spreading over the entire country. His research indicated that, in the public high schools, physical education was the strongest in the north central areas of the country and weakest in the south central and south atlantic areas. (47:543) The German Turnvereins had a degree of strength in the north central portions. The South was the area slow to join the free education movement. No southern state in 1910 had a swimming pool for instructional purposes. (47:545)

The activities directly or indirectly connected with physical education now moved outside the realm of the profession. The public was spectating and pressuring. R. Tait McKenzie had said of Jahn, "... here was the man and the occasion". (64:249) Turnen was what Germans needed. In America football games and boat races replaced street brawls and riots. The colleges began scientific medical exams for entrance and they tried, in physical education, to establish traditions for good and to try to avoid evil. (64:253) Baseball became the national game. It was popular from the sand lot to the organized teams that played professionally. It too had its abuses. After becoming involved with gambling and drinking, some reforms finally came about and leagues were formed to maintain controls. (28:222) In 1927 Babe Ruth hit his sixty home runs and became immortal to the baseball fans. The Olympics caused great excitement in track and field. The enthusiasm was as sustaining as that of baseball. Physical education and athletics were having many things added to and read into their program. Athletics, however, were getting out of hand.

Many abuses came along with the development of playgrounds and the competitive spirit of football games and sports. Those included exploitation of individuals and making spectators of the masses. Football was first organized by students. As the dangers increased, the faculty took over the controls. (28:224)

Elizabeth Burchenal, as assistant state inspector of the New York State Military Training Commission, had written that the athletic program had been evolved by the boys. Since the girls had not evolved it, they would not follow the pattern set. (41:272) She considered athletics a

failure if they did not include, were not suitable for, or not interesting to eighty percent of the pupils of a school. (41:273)

Women were said to have drifted with the men in ideals and standards. (76:517) Agnes Wayman, along with many other women, thought it high time, in an age of "speed, speed, speed", to organize goals in order to know when to stop and to go. (76:518) She stated the objectives of women should be constructive and show a love of exercise. At the same time objectives should provide a deep foundation for physical education rather than a program based solely on intercollegiate competition. She advocated, like Elizabeth Burchenal, games for the many and not as a Roman spectacle. (76:519)

In 1923 Mrs. Herbert Hoover called a conference for women at which Blanche Trilling acted as chairman. Those at the conference wanted athletics for women to be "for incalculable value". (37:204) This committee was to function as a special area of the National Amateur Athletic Federation. The special problems of women such as protection from exploitation, number of games played and the distances involved in traveling to game sites were to be handled by this committee.

In America it was Isadora Duncan who gave dance a new form of expression. She was responsible for what was known as the Romantic Revolution. (36:63) In the area of folk dance, the stage was set by Dr. Gulick and the Russian ballet teacher Louis Chalif. Elizabeth Burchenal followed them with her famous collection of folk songs. She had been a resident Fellow of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. (28:334) The Foundation was an organization promoting understanding of the German-American heritage. Anne Barr brought Swedish dances to the United States and taught them, not only in a university but, at the Chautauqua Summer School. (28:215)

Basketball was truly an American invention. Dr. James Naismith, of Springfield College, provided a winter fill-in game between the baseball and football seasons. His game used peach baskets for goals and enjoyed immediate popularity. (28:223) It did not, at this time, rival the great game of baseball as a national sport. Women, in particular, found the game to their liking. Senda Berenson, who had studied in Stockholm, brought the game to Smith College.

The costume, in which women participated during their activities, created a problem. A five to six pound handicap was inescapable in most prescribed costumes. (39:338) Even in the dance program a participant was hampered by a constricting belt. (39:341) As the costumes changed the social influences were perhaps slow to follow. Not quite "feminine", the new bloomer styles and short skirts caused new girls to refuse to take part. They were so ". . . overcome with shame . . . that they could not take a step, but sank down in a heap on the gymnasium floor". (2:95)

The girls' sports and games were not all patterned after the boys' games. They began to take on their own qualities. Most notable were the dance programs and the "new game" of hockey. Melvin Ballou Gilbert of Boston was the first to bring dance to the regular physical education program. (28:214) Hockey was brought from England by Constance Applebee. (36:60) Organizations to arrange and to regulate competition came into being. They were called Athletic Associations. These Athletic Associations became popular in the girls' schools. (2:89)

The adherents to gymnastics for girls could receive material in various books. One written by Harvey was particularly for those not in physical education. The book was very precise about changes in commands for the exercises. "Bend head to right---one!" took the place of the

formerly used command, "Head to right---bend!". (50:154) The latter command did not allow the student to understand in time what she was going to do with her head.

Physical education was spreading throughout the country. Delphine Hanna was appointed a full Professor of Physical Education at the coeducational institution of Oberlin College. Miss Amy Morris Homans was the first full Professor in a Woman's College when Wellesley College granted her the Professorship in 1910. (36:53) In the public schools, Dr. Gulick became head of the New York City Public School System and Ethel Perrin held a similar position with the Detroit Public Schools. (36:53) R. Tait McKenzie received a full Professorship when he assumed the head of the department at the University of Pennsylvania. Other schools followed in granting this distinction to teachers of physical education.

Influence of Teacher Training

The teacher training schools were mostly private and were later affiliated with the universities. The Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, with Amy Morris Homans as director, later merged with Wellesley College. Sargent operated his own school of physical education as did William Anderson for some years. Sargent was one of the last to affiliate. Not until 1941 did the Sargent School become a part of Boston University. The Normal School of the North American Gymnastics Union, the turner school, also affiliated in 1941. The school had been discontinued during the Civil War, had been revived, and in 1941 became a part of Indiana University. (28:306) It had the initial influence in teacher training. During the interim between the time when the teachers were from the turner school and the teacher training schools had graduates, circus performers and

professional boxers were the physical education instructors. (28:255)

Delphine Hanna compiled data on the Normal schools of America which indicated that there were some thirty-two institutions at some time during this era that were involved in teacher training. (36:189) Dudley Sargent realized the aid summer schools might be to the teachers of physical education and served as the director of the Harvard Summer School of Physical Education. (28:250) His aims were to provide a program that stressed hygienic values, educative values, recreative and remedial values. (34:389) Another summer school of note was the Chautauqua School. It was a part of the great Chautauqua movement bringing education to all adults wanting to hear the lectures. This summer school was headed by Dr. William G. Anderson and was influential with early teachers. (34:396)

The Great War of 1914 put an edge of militarism in schools at the sacrifice of the broader concept of physical education activity. The Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, however, supported the physical training program and did not advocate a substitution of military training. Sports and games held sway in the school program, and outside varsity athletics were handled by an athletic director. Totally beyond the schools, the professionals took over and the great majority of Americans became "fans"; sitting in bleachers or in the stadiums to watch others perform in highly competitive events.

F. Kellor wrote of the ethical aspects of competition for women. She received much support for the belief that the activity must be worthwhile for the individual and then the community. She stated that sports should be fun for the greatest number. Its predominating note should be of joy and fun. The participants are in activity for themselves and then for the school or college. All of her play is initiative and not imitative. (51:171)

The early connotation of the profession was sometimes ". . . one of circus and prize rings". (66:191) To the physical educator, however, the overall aim was one of health. Physical education was education. Elizabeth Halsey later wrote that, "as a profession we like to emphasize mental and social aspects while education wants us to emphasize physical efficiency". (48:490) As a profession American physical educators have continued to read as much into their program as they can. Jesse Williams as the spokesman for this philosophy wrote:

. . . the modern spirit in physical education seeks the education of man through physical activities as one aspect of the social effort for human enlightenment. It is the plain truth of the matter that no individual, no community, no nation can depend upon one aspect of life for the whole of living. Deification of only the physical, or the mental, or the spiritual leads to disaster. (36:219)

CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE

Political, social and educational forces all interact. The latter, if used, could improve the other two forces. Because it observes and considers what has passed, history is rethinking and is selective. Not all can be recorded, understood and digested, consequently any history must be selective. (53:ix) History should enable one to see, at least partially, why physical education is what it is today. If the same past errors are being made, the same results may be prophesied. If the proposed advancements are followed, perhaps even a prophecy of the future may be seen.

The extremely divergent political paths of Germany and America were among the causes of change in physical education. The one country was disciplined by national authority and the other was prone to frontier individualism. Germany had a traditional heritage in philosophy and the arts but historians agreed generally that the middle class German had relinquished his political standing. To serve the state as an officer, professor or appointed public official was a general goal of German youth. The German educational forces catered to the authoritative social and political forces, and to this end, the system was productive.

Americans were descendants of the people of most of the nations of Europe but America was a new nation; a new democracy. "Nothing in all history had ever succeeded like America, and every American knew

it". (4:5) The Industrial Revolution coexisted with an expanding and changing frontier in America. The boundaries of Europe might change by war but America possessed a vast frontier of land. The opportunity for equality directed the common man to participate in social movements and in government. As a young nation, America did not have a nationalistic traditional heritage from past centuries of philosophers or artists. It did have European influences on which to build and it coupled its own development with this heritage to develop a culture uniquely American.

Reading about the German system of *Leibeserziehung* or physical education leads one to think that the self discipline of the body was the essence of the activity. A broader concept was rarely taught nor, in fact, even sought. This concept was desirable for the Germans. *Leibeserziehung*, however, has a connotation of its more literal translation of "education of the body". Because of this feeling for the nature of the word, *Leibeserziehung* has not been translated in this paper but left in its German form. The Germans appeared reluctant to make a change from this "education of the body" and when they did change they often made drastic changes. In the American connotation of physical education, "education" was the broad concept and "physical" was an adjective denoting the method through which the education was taught.

The equality of opportunity which America professed was reflected in physical education. One foreign system had equal opportunity with other foreign systems to gain adherents. Although the German system was introduced to America first the Swedish system also made a contribution to the American program. No one system was totally acceptable. America "dabbled" in them all. When Americans changed systems they often kept some phase of the previous movement and made new combinations. Much of

this "dabbling" was brought about because none of the foreign systems allowed for the creativity and freedom of activity that Americans sought. The Americans wanted to emphasize sports and games and spontaneity in activities which were not in response to any authority. To many in the profession, the whole child was taught through the means of physical activity. Educational objectives were in terms of physical, mental, emotional and social growth through physical activity. Dudley Sargent suggested to the profession that it

. . . read into physical education everything you can of the slightest value but don't read out of it the most fundamental thing of all--that is all-round muscular exercise. (36:282)

Both Germany and America began with gymnastics. German gymnastics were to promote patriotism; the American eclectic gymnastic systems were used for the correction of health. In Germany it was Jahn and in America the German immigrants, Catherine Beecher, and Dio Lewis who promoted gymnastics. Sports and games had roots for some time in America and, with the advent of educational concern, came to the fore with the competitive spirit of America. Games for the Germans meant everyone participating. In America the bleachers held more people than the sports field. The competitive American spirit had created intercollegiate athletics, professional sports and even public school competition. The Germans had no such competition between schools. Where they competed, the bleachers were not only empty as a rule but, had the youth used them, the authorities would probably have hung an "Es ist verboten" sign. (53:274)

Dance came to the fore at about the same time in both countries through the leadership of the Duncan sisters, Isadora and Elizabeth. Neither country, at this time, wanted to adhere to a single highly organized

dance system. Rudolf Bode and other advocates of rhythmic gymnastics began to make the old single German system more diverse. (3:89)

Despite the differences of a political and social nature, the physical activities of the two countries were quite similar. The emphasis was of a difference in intensity and a difference in the aims and principles. Germans followed precise movements and seemed to enjoy regimentation. Americans loved individualism and were impressed with individual personalities. The major difference was in the purposes of physical education and Leibeserziehung. The political and social education of both countries formed the educational attitudes; the desire to submit to authority and the desire to be individualistic. These were the extreme differences.

Dr. Fred Leonard, in his studies of physical education history, did much to help America understand the German systems. He later became a part of the New American physical education when he wrote:

A better usage, and one more in conformity with the present conception of man's nature as a unit, is that which regards his motor activities as a means of influencing for good the entire individual in mind and character as well as in body; it employs the word "physical" to denote the means, and not the end. (34:429)

America was prone to enjoy sports and games and the activities in the schools. No American organization can match the size and the enthusiasm of the German DRA (Der deutscher Reichsausschuss fur Leibesubungen). To get Americans off the bleachers at the adult level for real activity is something America could well share with the German Leibeserziehung. Physical education, with its opportunity for equality in play, is in a favorable position to make a contribution to German education.

It has been said Columbus died thinking he had reached Asia because he was ignorant of certain navigational knowledge that was accessible to

him in various libraries. (23:44) There is much that is accessible to both countries that has not been translated. Generalizations have been made that need closer scrutiny. It is as if the dust had merely been taken off the books. It was stated in the introduction, that "to wonder is merely a beginning and to find the answer is research". For this writer, the wonder persists. It is hoped that this study may make others wonder about the comparison of these two countries. While there is much for the two countries to share, it is also well to remember they are two different countries. If Americans want to retain their individualism in politics and in physical education they should consider also other countries' individualism. If Germans prefer authority, controlled movements, and *Leibeserziehung*, they should consider the boundaries of their realm. This writer thinks the German view is the more difficult position. American democracy and individualism allow for "self-determination" in types of activity as well as socially and politically. Authoritative government control sometimes makes "self-determination" and individualism awkward in practice. America has diversity in physical education. Germany has a precise format and is striving for a greater diversity.

A Buddhist story is recalled that helps one to see differences without wanting to condemn unnecessarily or to change those that are different. It is perhaps a warning to be cautious. "One does not deny the leaf, the leaf does not deny the stalk and root. To wish well to our fellow men does not mean to attempt to change all leaves into flowers, but to let them be leaves and love them as such."

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